

# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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## Eileen Fletcher replies to Colonial Office

The Colonial Office in recent weeks has issued two lengthy memoranda attempting to refute Eileen Fletcher's charges made in Peace News about conditions in Kenya, especially in detention camps and prisons. Eileen Fletcher writes:

THE supporter of the South African Government has better manners than our Colonial Secretary! Where the former says "You are wrong Father Huddleston" the latter says I am a liar. I have my own opinion of a person who uses his privileged position in the House of Commons to make such a statement.

The many people all over England who have heard me speak in the last few months will judge whether my account of what I saw and heard in Kenya rings more true than the varied and contradictory statements of Mr. Lennox Boyd.

He also says that many of my remarks are based on hearsay. On what are his based?

Readers of Lewis Carroll will remember the remark made to Alice "I'll be judge, I'll be jury said cunning old Fury" and may consider it appropriate to the Government's investigation.

It is rather naive of them to say that because they have asked certain officers if they committed or allowed brutalities and irregularities and because they have said no they must be innocent!

In paragraph three of their second memorandum they say "With regard to Langata Camp a further and fuller investigation failed to produce any evidence of the brutality and ill-treatment to which Miss Fletcher refers."

The things I mentioned I myself saw. As it was a Reception Camp, all the Africans concerned who were detainees will long ago have been moved to other camps.

Langata Camp itself closed over a year ago!

It is not clear therefore how thorough this

The lesson of Hungary, by Gene Sharp—page 4

# EGYPT AND U.N.

## GRASP THIS OPPORTUNITY

### Make it an unarmed international force

AN EDITORIAL

BEHIND the United Nations action to establish peace in the Middle East is the recognition that, ultimately, moral force must be relied upon.

This principle must be recognised and used to its fullest extent.

In Egypt, the UN force will be, at least at first, a very small one. It will consist only of a few infantry battalions with very little in the way of armoured force.

## WELL DONE, AMERICA!

By Reginald Reynolds

THE world has become accustomed to political cynicism; but the cynicism of the past weeks perhaps breaks all records.

We have not only seen three great Powers and one small State (Israel) committing deliberate aggression, but the predatory actions of bandits have been justified as "police measures"; and each side, in the midst of its own appalling crimes, has paused to condemn the other for doing the same things.

The result has been hopeless confusion.

If Eden and Bulganin had agreed to all this beforehand, it could not have been more effective or more profitable to both.

Without the invasion of Hungary, the attack on Egypt could have been seen much more clearly as exactly what it was; and even the voice of the Russian Government would have been listened to with respect as the indignation of the whole world made itself heard.

Middle East. If other reasons were lacking, the record of British and French imperialism in that part of the world would be sufficient to account for it.

But, once more, the cynicism of newspapers which indignantly denounce Russian ambitions in the Middle East (real or imaginary) is staggering.

Did they even remember Cyprus and why we are there, or by what terror we hold it?

A farce

Finally we have Britain, an aggressor denounced as such by an overwhelming

These men will be armed. But their power will not lie in their arms, because each side in the Egyptian conflict is much more powerful militarily and could crush the UN forces if they were solely dependent on their arms.

The power of the UN force, rather, will lie chiefly, as the Manchester Guardian remarks, "in the moral backing which most of the world has given it."

We are convinced that its moral power would be much greater if the UN force were completely unarmed.

Never in recent times has there been a more convincing demonstration of the impact of world opinion upon official government policies than that of the British Government since the Egyptian nationalisation of the Suez Canal.

The British Government's immediate intentions to use force were temporarily thwarted; then when invasion did take place, they were forced to accept a cease-fire.

### Problems remain

Eden's failure to completely take over the canal can be attributed primarily to the tremendous outcries from all over the world and determined opposition at home.

But despite the cease-fire, this is not a time to relax or indulge in patting each others' backs.

Every problem which existed in the Middle East prior to the British-French-Israeli attacks on Egypt continues to exist, and solutions have been made more difficult.

Also, the presence of the UN army in Egypt ought not to bring us relief from worries and concern over the crisis.

The problems of the Middle East must be tackled or the present cease-fire will prove to be only the lull before the storm.

Another resort to violence in the problem-filled Middle East might well mean widespread war throughout the whole area, and possibly a world war. That means that violence and the threat of violence must be ruled out.

But we also must not forget that non-violent resistance cannot defend that which has been won by and is based upon violence.

### Opportunity

This means that if there is to be peace in the Middle East there must be some



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Langata Camp itself closed over a year ago!

It is not clear therefore how thorough this investigation can have been.

### CLOTHES TAKEN

Paragraph five referring to the same camp, and dealing with the fact that I saw men and boys on several days wearing only a blanket, all their clothes having been confiscated, throws light on the kind of statement accepted.

It says that the woman rehabilitation officer at Langata stated that "she personally saw all the detainees wearing clothes on Christmas Eve."

As the camp held about eight thousand people it is difficult to see how one untrained worker could state that she saw each detainee personally.

They were in a number of different compounds in which they could move about so that it would not be an easy matter to see each one separately.

The paragraph goes on to say that in fact their clothes were not taken away, only excess clothing and boots were.

In fact few of the detainees had boots at all, most were barefoot.

I saw the men and boys wearing only a blanket, I saw the large heap of confiscated clothing on several occasions, and I heard the remarks made by the officer as to why they had been confiscated.

### FOLLOWING PROTEST

With regard to unaccompanied children in the camps the reply states "On January 11, 1955, the District Commissioner gave orders that Langata Camp should no longer receive

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Without the invasion of Hungary, the attack on Egypt could have been seen much more clearly as exactly what it was; and even the voice of the Russian Government would have been listened to with respect as the indignation of the whole world made itself heard.

And without our own aggression there would have been an equally clear and united condemnation of the invasion of Hungary—perhaps even effective action in either case, which would not have had to be of a military character.

### Public opinion

Even in the existing muddle enough has happened to show the force of public opinion.

In Britain many Tories were uneasy and others reacted to the disgust at home and abroad against our Government.

In Russia there must surely be a realisation that the international Communist movement has suffered a serious set-back.

From all parts of the world leading Communists have been reported to be resigning or protesting. The work of Khrushchov and Bulganin abroad has been utterly destroyed.

The sympathy of ordinary workers for the Soviet Union must have been shattered in innumerable instances. But those who feel strongly about Hungary must often be more hesitant to protest about Suez when they read of Russian protests.

Others, who might otherwise be willing to speak out and act with regard to Hungary, must often hesitate when they read the nauseating cant about freedom, aggression and so on in those British papers which loudly applauded and still applaud the aggression of Britain, France and Israel.

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### A farce

Finally we have Britain, an aggressor denounced as such by an overwhelming majority of the United Nations, protesting righteously to Syria about blowing up the oil pipe from which we hoped to obtain fuel for our murderous attack.

Our Government "must hold the Syrian Government directly responsible." For what? For taking (or permitting) steps to withhold war supplies from an aggressor!

One thing at least is clear, or should be, even to non-pacifists. "Collective Security" by armed intervention against aggressors has become a farce.

If this were implemented today the United Nations (or what is left of it) would be at war simultaneously with Russia, Britain, France and—of course—Israel.

The reckless logic of this conception has not even been advocated. Other ways must be found and we all know it.

The hope lies partly in the reaction to which I have alluded—the fact that, in spite of all the confusion and divided loyalties, there has been enough opposition to make the various aggressors think again.

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□ ON BACK PAGE

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## Opportunity

This means that if there is to be peace in the Middle East there must be some basic social, economic and political changes—and many people and probably all the Governments of the area, are not ready to consider some of those changes which would be required.

We are convinced that if the United Nations force in the Middle East remains an armed force, the UN is missing a genuine opportunity to deal with this tangled situation in a manner vastly superior to hackneyed military concepts.

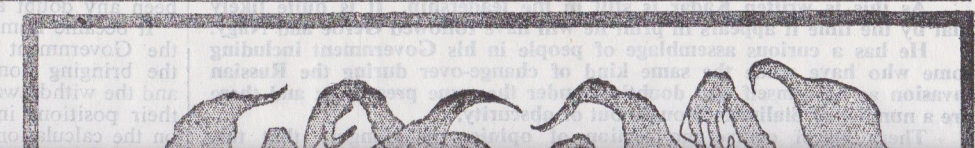
It is the moral power of the UN force which will bring results if there is to be peace. That moral power is reduced by the troops being armed.

The UN cannot deal with all aggressors by force. The UN force could be easily wiped out by either the Israeli or the Egyptian army, let alone the British or French.

It cannot be applied against the Soviet Union in Hungary for that would mean a world war. It could not be applied against the United States. It could hardly at this point occupy Britain, France and Israel to guarantee that their armed forces launched no more aggression.

If, on the other hand, a UN armed force were to be powerful enough to deal with

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## FOLLOWING PROTEST

With regard to unaccompanied children in the camps the reply states "On January 11, 1955, the District Commissioner gave orders that Langata Camp should no longer receive waifs and strays and that unaccompanied children under seven should be sent to the Red Cross Home of Refuge or the Salvation Army Orphanage.

This order followed my visit to the District Commissioner in which I persuaded him to take this action, with some difficulty!

I wrote a report (which the Government publishes as an appendix) to my Commissioner on December 28, 1954, stating that I suggested all unaccompanied children under eight should be sent to the Place of Safety and not to the camps.

In my Progress Report for January I reported "I have arranged with the District Commissioner that unaccompanied children under seven should not be taken to Langata but should go direct to the Place of Safety and I arranged for the transfer of children of this age already in the camp."

The Government Memorandum continues "Miss Fletcher concluded that in cases where the father has a good record and a good job children under eight might be left in the camp and the fathers be required to contribute to their maintenance."

Either the Government is deliberately misleading people here or they cannot read!

For in the report to which they refer, and which they publish I said "The Reception

ON BACK PAGE

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It happened to be Sir Pierson Dixon describing Russia's action to the Security Council. It could have been the Russian delegate describing the actions of Sir Pierson's Government.

The parallel is even closer. The Russians justified themselves by talk of Western counter-revolutionary machinations in Hungary.

## Whose plans?

Our own Government, at a rather late hour in the controversy, "revealed" Russian plans to "take over the Middle East."

Like the Russians in Hungary, it appears that we intervened "in the nick of time." The Daily Express headlined "THE EVIDENCE." This consisted of Russian arms captured by the British when they invaded Egypt.

But the Daily Express did not mention that you can find British armaments throughout the Middle East—including Egypt!

The Evening News said of the Russians: "Time and time again they have shown their desire to get a grip on Middle East affairs."

One would have thought that there was, in that case, a devastating case against Britain, which has meddled in Middle Eastern affairs ever since the Crimean War.

Of course the Russians are interested in the

pipe from which we hoped to obtain fuel for our murderous attack.

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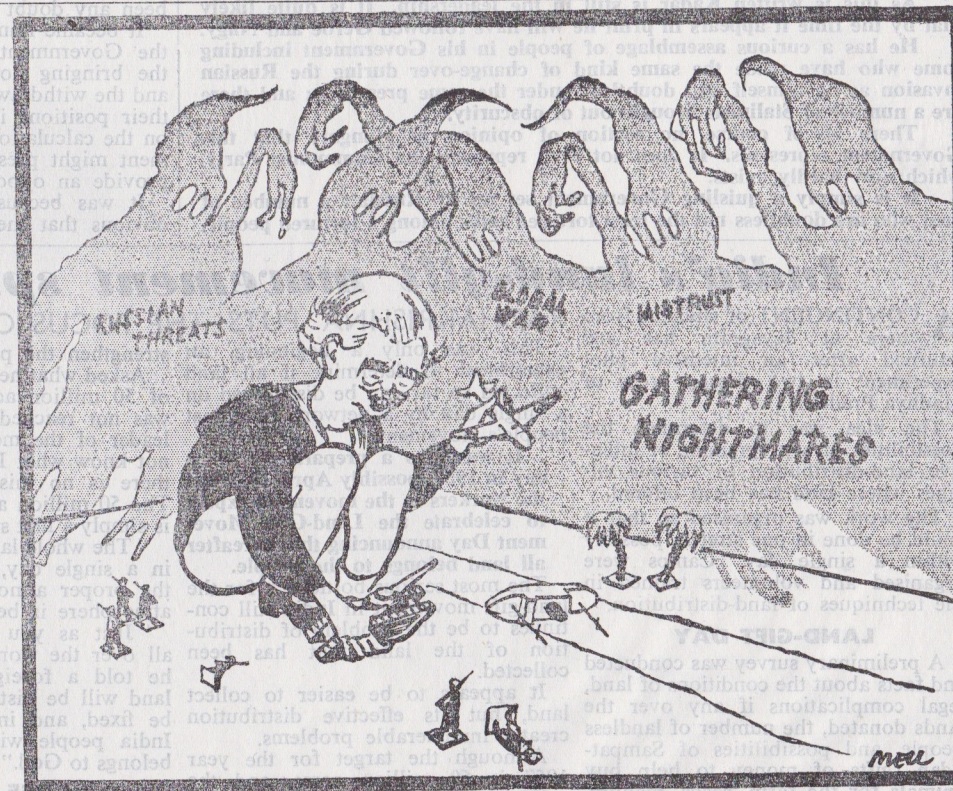
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LITTLE SIR ANTHONY PLAYS LATE

**MARCH with Dr. SOPER again on SUNDAY, NOV. 25**

From KINGSWAY HALL, 7.30 p.m. (following evening service at 6.30 p.m.)

Air meeting at Manette Street, Charing Cross Road.

WAR — WE SAY NO



November 16th 1956

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## PEACE NEWS

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### THE HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY

THREE weeks ago, at the time of the rehabilitation of Gomulka, and his assumption of the leadership of the Polish Communist Party, we wrote that this could only represent a temporary phase: either the popular movement towards freedom and democracy would be carried much beyond the point that Gomulka would be likely to accept, or the trend would be reversed by new oppression and bloodshed.

It is the dreadful second alternative that has occurred in Hungary, and the Polish people will be learning of the sufferings of the Hungarian people with great sorrow and sympathy, while they are congratulating themselves on their good fortune in having stopped short in their changes at the extreme point that the Russian Government would permit.

What the Russian Communists are prepared to permit in the countries they dominate is the Yugoslav degree of elasticity inside single-party rule, but nothing further. The Communist countries offer the electors no choice. They may vote on a single list, take it or leave it (and don't let it become too evident that you "leave it").

This is a necessary aspect of Communist rule, which requires that there shall be no possibility of free organisation for advocacy of political ideas.

This suppression of all organisation for political expression outside the governing Party does not only apply, of course, to those who, like the Social Democrats, would claim the right to challenge the Communists at elections.

It applies to any group standing for a distinctive social conception, and this is the main reason why there cannot be in Communist countries any sections of the Fellowship of Reconciliation or the War Resisters' International.

While there may be a dubious recognition of a very restricted right to conscientious objection in some of the Communist countries it is unthinkable that organised pacifism could be permitted.

Should it ever become possible for an organisation like the Peace Pledge Union to exist in any of the countries of Eastern Europe we shall know that, for that land, Government by totalitarian dictatorship has ended.

MR. GOMULKA had promised that in the forthcoming elections in Poland the electors should have a choice. Whereas before they could only "vote" on a list in which no alternatives were offered in future they might be offered more candidates than there were places to be filled; all, however, would be members of the same Party.

Stated in terms of the present British Government the innovation offered is to be something like an opportunity to vote for Mr. Selwyn Lloyd if you prefer not to vote for Sir Anthony Eden.

After a great deal of consultation with the Russian leaders during which there was clearly a great deal of pressure and threatening, meeting with a temerarious resistance, it became established that this kind of modification, with Mr. Gomulka in the leadership, represented the utmost limit that Russia would allow without resort to armed suppression.

The conjunction of events was not so fortunate for the Hungarian people. They had nobody like Gomulka, who was a victim of Stalinism, to bring back and put at the helm.

Rajk had been tortured until he "confessed" to spying and then killed. He could be rehabilitated and given special honours in a new funeral ceremony, but he could not be put back into the leadership.

Then what had happened in Poland had so greatly encouraged the Hungarians that they thought they might be able to achieve something of the reality of freedom; they might be able to establish political parties representing their own views and be represented by men of their own choice.



THE Swiss Government's invitation to the Heads of States to meet once more has met with an acceptance from India, a refusal from President Eisenhower, an acceptance from Marshal Bulganin, and a statement from Sir Anthony Eden that he is willing to go anywhere and at any time in the cause of peace—probably a characteristic way of saying neither yes nor no.

That a new meeting of the Heads of States is highly desirable we have no doubt, but it seems clear to us that there should be a delay before it takes place.

At present it could hardly produce anything better than recriminations, with two sets of aggressors each accusing the other.

Before a new "Geneva" takes place it is desirable that the Heads of States to attend it shall have been changed.

The British people will require to do a great deal more than remove Sir Anthony Eden and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd before they are able to confront the world again with clean hands, but their removal would be a contribution.

It is, unfortunately, not possible to hope that Messrs. Mollet and Pineau will be removed as a result of a similar manifestation of shame and indignation to that which has occurred in this country.

Even so, it is possible to hope that the Mollet Government will fall, and that the French Socialists at least will take some steps to rid themselves of the acceptance of a militarist imperialism that blackens them today.

### We must wait

IT is even less possible to look for comparable changes in the Russian Government. The Russian people have no permitted means of expression, and in the face of the crimes of their leaders they are as numbly acquiescent as were the Germans in the face of the crimes of Hitler, and for much the same reasons.

Nevertheless, it would be obviously impossible to conduct profitable consultations while the enormity of the Russian crime against humanity is

tion to the Government's action could not be deflected by the unconvincing claim that what was happening was merely a helpful anticipation of a UN effort.

There remains the question, however, whether the opportunity that was seized by the French and British Governments with such indecent haste occurred independently of their own activities or whether it had in fact been contrived by them.

### Substantiation

THE OBSERVER has brought together some of the evidence which points to the conclusion, put forward in Peace News by Brijen Gupta last week, that the Israeli attack was contrived in collusion with the French and British Governments.

From the facts it assembles it is concluded that the action was agreed upon at a meeting in Paris on October 16 between Sir Anthony Eden, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, and Messrs. Mollet and Pineau, during which the advisers of the two sides were called upon to retire so that the Ministers could confer in secret.

It is thought that plans at this meeting were based upon an Israeli

### Geneva Collusion U.N.A. Students

attack on November 2, when the American elections would be at their height, or possibly a few days later, and that President Eisenhower's warnings of October 27 and 28 to the Israeli Government were responsible for the plan being set in operation earlier than had been intended.

### Evidence

AMONG the evidences of prior knowledge regarding the Israeli attack on the part of the French and British Governments, the following

French troops began to mass in the Marseilles-Toulon area some time after October 16;

On October 16 a number of senior Israeli officers arrived in Paris.

In addition to the above, Roy Sherwood has drawn our attention to a report in Le Monde for October 31 that considerable British forces had left Malta for the Eastern Mediterranean 24 hours before the first Israeli attack.

These consisted of aircraft-carriers, cruisers, destroyers, submarines and frigates, carrying commando troops.

Should it become possible to substantiate these statements and the sinister fact to which they point, the British Government's attempt to justify its action on the ground that it will have led to a strengthening of the influence of the United Nations merely adds to its perfidy.

### Resign

FOLLOWING the Government's action in Egypt the General Council of the United Nations Association condemned what the Government had done and called upon it to announce that it would desist from any action which had not the support of the UN General Assembly.

The President of UNA is Sir Anthony Eden.

Everybody recognises that the placing of the Presidency in the hands of the Prime Minister is a convention that need not imply that he feels any very great enthusiasm for the principles that UNA exists to advocate, but this is the first time that the Association's President has had a leading responsibility for a flagrant flouting of those principles.

The Association would do a service to the principles for which it exists if it were to ask him to resign.

### Message of hope

IN all the terrible happenings of the past weeks there is one welcome sign that may have great promise for the future.

In Poland and Hungary the students have been prominent in the new



governing Party does not apply, of course, to those who, like the Communist Democrats, would claim the right to challenge the Communists at elections.

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It is this that has resulted in the terrible Russian crime we have had to witness and the excruciating tragedy the Hungarian people have suffered.

When Rakosi, who had applied Stalinist policy in Hungary, was removed last July as a result of the move towards de-Stalinisation, Janos Kadar, who had been a friend of Rajk and had been arrested, was brought back into the leadership beside Geroe.

Like Gomulka and Geroe himself he is an orthodox Communist opposed to the public expression of any political view other than Communism.

The new trend was too strong for him, however. Great numbers of members of the Communist Party were leaving it and joining the insurgents. Nagy had to be brought in.

An endeavour was made to deal with the situation by the establishment of a new unified Party containing representatives of other points of view than orthodox Communism, the Workers' Socialist Party.

★ ★  
**IN** the endeavour to reconstruct the Party on these lines Nagy and Kadar added to the concessions they had already announced the principle of free elections.

This was the turning point for the Russian Government. Their oft-declared concern for the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other nations did not go as far as this.

Kadar called to the Hungarian people to fight on two fronts: against the counter-revolutionary danger and against a new Russian intervention. Twenty-four hours later Nagy was set aside and, under what pressure one can only conjecture, Kadar had become a Russian "quisling" and was condemning the Government with which he had been working, and providing invitations to the Russians to invade the country.

As this is written Kadar is still in the leadership. It is quite likely that by the time it appears in print he will have followed Geroe and Nagy.

He has a curious assemblage of people in his Government including some who have made the same kind of change-over during the Russian invasion as he himself and doubtless under the same pressures; and there are a number of Stalinists brought out of obscurity.

There is, of course, no section of opinion in Hungary that this Government represents. It does not even represent the Communist Party.

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Nevertheless, it would be obviously impossible to conduct profitable consultations while the enormity of the Russian crime against humanity is searing the minds of all. We must wait.

If and when that meeting does take place it must begin once again by facing the stark fact that confronted the Geneva meeting last year: that, in this H-bomb age, for any power to enter upon war is too great a risk for the whole of mankind.

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It is thought that plans at this meeting were based upon an Israeli

## Geneva Collusion U.N.A. Students

attack on November 2, when the American elections would be at their height, or possibly a few days later, and that President Eisenhower's warnings of October 27 and 28 to the Israeli Government were responsible for the plan being set in operation earlier than had been intended.

## Evidence

**AMONG** the evidences of prior knowledge regarding the Israeli attack on the part of the French and British Governments, the following are cited:

About the end of August the French Government ceased its practice of supplying its allies with information regarding its shipments of arms to Israel;

Mr. Ben Gurion had already told his Party's General Council that Israel would soon be able to rely on a "true ally";

After the Paris meeting mentioned above senior officials and junior Ministers of both the French and British Governments found that confidential minutes and memoranda of the type they had formerly received were no longer reaching them;

## From the Editor's Notebook

**Come-back for a Burton!**

**THE** Rev. Ormond Burton, who reviews Allen Moorehead's "Gallipoli" on page 6, wrote the official history of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps at the end of World War I.

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## Resign

**FOLLOWING** the Government's action in Egypt the General Council of the United Nations Association condemned what the Government had done and called upon it to announce that it would desist from any action which had not the support of the UN General Assembly.

The President of UNA is Sir Anthony Eden.

Everybody recognises that the placing of the Presidency in the hands of the Prime Minister is a convention that need not imply that he feels any very great enthusiasm for the principles that UNA exists to advocate, but this is the first time that the Association's President has had a leading responsibility for a flagrant flouting of those principles.

The Association would do a service to the principles for which it exists if it were to ask him to resign.

## Message of hope

**IN** all the terrible happenings of the past weeks there is one welcome sign that may have great promise for the future.

In Poland and Hungary the students have been prominent in the new movement towards freedom. Similarly in Britain during the demonstrations against Franco-British and Soviet aggression.

It is to be hoped that this is a sign that the new generation is breaking through the paralysing mood of fatalistic and impotent apathy that has been afflicting their elders in recent years.

If the complexities of modern politics, the increasing centralisation, the immensity of government power and the remoteness of authority are at last to be met with something more virile than "What's the use?" there is hope that democracy will once again be a reality in the world.

ton Technical College. He later became Headmaster with a full-time staff of 62 under him!

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## Memo to South Africa

**I** HOPE the South African Government will hear about the President-elect of the New Zealand Methodist Church (he may be President by the time this is in print).

Dr. Raymond Dudley is a full-blooded Indian, born in Fiji but adopted by a Methodist woman and



When Rakosi, who had applied Stalinist policy in Hungary, was removed last July as a result of the move towards de-Stalinisation, Janos Kadar, who had been a friend of Rajk and had been arrested, was brought back into the leadership beside Geroe.

Like Gomulka and Geroe himself he is an orthodox Communist opposed to the public expression of any political view other than Communism.

The new trend was too strong for him, however. Great numbers of members of the Communist Party were leaving it and joining the insurgents. Nagy had to be brought in.

An endeavour was made to deal with the situation by the establishment of a new unified Party containing representatives of other points of view than orthodox Communism, the Workers' Socialist Party.

★ ★  
IN the endeavour to reconstruct the Party on these lines Nagy and

Kadar added to the concessions they had already announced the principle of free elections.

This was the turning point for the Russian Government. Their oft-declared concern for the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other nations did not go as far as this.

Kadar called to the Hungarian people to fight on two fronts: against the counter-revolutionary danger and against a new Russian intervention. Twenty-four hours later Nagy was set aside and, under what pressure one can only conjecture, Kadar had become a Russian "quisling" and was condemning the Government with which he had been working, and providing invitations to the Russians to invade the country.

As this is written Kadar is still in the leadership. It is quite likely that by the time it appears in print he will have followed Geroe and Nagy.

He has a curious assemblage of people in his Government including some who have made the same kind of change-over during the Russian invasion as he himself and doubtless under the same pressures; and there are a number of Stalinists brought out of obscurity.

There is, of course, no section of opinion in Hungary that this Government represents. It does not even represent the Communist Party, which now hardly exists.

It is simply a quisling Government set up by Russia: a number of men who are doubtless not the least tortured souls among a tortured people.

## India's land-gift movement spreads Southwards

A CONTINGENT of students from here at Sevagram has just returned after an intensive pilot experiment in two chosen areas of Madhya Pradesh.

The idea was to determine the possibilities of a programme of intensive land-distribution in various villages where land has been offered.

The work was organised so that it could be done in one stretch, possibly within a single day. Camps were organised and volunteers trained in the techniques of land-distribution.

### LAND-GIFT DAY

A preliminary survey was conducted and facts about the conditions of land, legal complications if any over the lands donated, the number of landless people, and possibilities of Sampatidan (gifts of money to help buy animals for the farm, seeds, manure, or provide facilities for irrigation by digging wells, etc., for effective cultivation) were all gathered and verified.

On the same day all the land collected in these two areas so far was distributed.

### RADHAKRISHNA PUTS THE FOCUS ON BHOODAN

This was only a beginning, an experiment to determine if all land collected so far can be distributed on a single day by a network of a vast people's movement.

It was also a preparation for a day in 1957, possibly April 18, when the workers in the movement expect to celebrate the Land-Gift Movement Day announcing that hereafter all land belongs to the people.

The most serious bottleneck for the land-gift movement in India still continues to be the problem of distribution of the land that has been collected.

It appears to be easier to collect land, but its effective distribution creates innumerable problems.

Although the target for the year 1957 is 50 million acres, and the collections so far amount to five millions, no one is unduly concerned about the quantity of land that has been or that has to be collected.

The rapid distribution of whatever is collected, it is generally believed, will generate a new urgency and

If and when that meeting does take place it must begin once again by facing the stark fact that confronted the Geneva meeting last year: that, in this H-bomb age, for any power to enter upon war is too great a risk for the whole of mankind.

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It became immediately evident that the Government had been opposing the bringing home of the reservists and the withdrawal of the forces from their positions in the Mediterranean on the calculation that some development might present itself that would provide an opportunity to use them.

It was because this had been so obvious that the widespread opposi-

strengthen the pace of collection.

Asked what he would do if the goal of 50 million acres of donated land was not reached, Vinoba Bhawe, the leader of the movement said, "I do not know what I myself will do. But there is no misgiving in my mind. The 50 million acres is not a goal, it is simply a first step.

"The whole land can be distributed in a single day, provided we create the proper atmosphere. I think the atmosphere is being created."

"Just as you celebrate Christmas all over the world on a single day," he told a foreign visitor, "so also land will be distributed. A date will be fixed, and in all the villages of India people will declare that land belongs to God."

### VILLAGE OWNERSHIP

Vinoba is touring Tamilnad in the State of Madras and intensive work has started in the industrial area of Coimbatore.

The concentration is both on collecting gifts of land and persuading

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When he came out of prison he secured work as a cleaner at Well-

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### Church bells drown propaganda

HOW many thousands of pounds have been wasted on the Civil Defence recruiting campaign? Do you remember it? It was the big thing before Britain became an aggressor. Reporting the town's "pathetic National Civil Defence Week," the Banbury Guardian told its readers that there was an almost complete lack of interest in local CD displays:

"To cap the dismal attendance on Saturday the commentary was drowned by a visiting team of bell-ringers who completed a three hours' non-stop marathon at St. Mary's Church—starting before the display and ending long after it had finished.

"The bell-ringers had locked themselves in the belfry. Neither they, nor the Vicar, who was out with the Bishop, knew the CD display was to take place. Nor did the CD people know they were to be drowned in bell-ringing.

"So that's what CD in Banbury has come to... Utter apathy, shows for children, something almost to be ashamed of—a sort of guilt complex in many people's minds."



## BRITISH TRAGEDY IN CHINA

THE worst thing in the world today—if we are to get the United Nations right and working, let us start with the first thing—is the American colonialism in China, which has held the bar against any major reform.

Is there an hon. Member who would say that he thinks that Chiang Kai-shek should be representing 500 million Chinese on the Security Council at a moment like this?

Do hon. Members realise the anxiety of the Chinese for resurgence and their desire to take part in international life?

That will not be realised, perhaps, by anyone who has not been to China and has not talked to those kindly, cultured, decent people who have lived for so long in the shadows and are now trying to emerge.

Anyone who has done that cannot but be convinced that their Communism is not Russian Communism.

The Chinese have established a very curious contradiction in terms. They have something approaching both a democracy and a dictatorship. They have their full freedom of criticism.

It may very well be that one could not alter that regime. They have party systems which are different from ours.

However, there is no question that they are much more anxious to be in the Indian orbit than the Soviet orbit in foreign affairs.

If we are going to start again—I hope we are going to start again—without undue recrimination, one of the first things that we have to do if we are to have China seated at the Security Council is to say that we will not worry so much about whether our policy is going to be political or economical but will start doing the thing because it is right.

I believe that a foreign policy based on that principle might have some hope of success.

China is a nation of 500 million people, many of them, of course, still living in acute poverty. I think that some of the claims made about the magnitude of the economic recovery have been absurd.

There are areas of China to which few people have gone since the revolution, but

## EGYPT NEEDS AID—NOT AGGRESSION

# “We have reached the stage when arms are useless”

By LESLIE HALE M.P.

From his speech in the House of Commons on November 8

FIVE thousand years ago in that lovely and fertile narrow gorge of the Upper Nile, the fellaheen began with their *shadouf*, their balancing stick of bamboo or some other wood, loaded at one end with some dried mud, to bucket out water from the Nile and irrigate the surrounding lands.

The record of Egypt can be summed up in the one sentence; there came the days of Egypt's fame; there came the whole story of the Pharaohs and their power; Egypt at one time was one of the dominating countries of the world; there came the Roman occupation, the withdrawal into Africa, the years that the locusts ate and, centuries after, the British occupation which lasted 70 years; and at the end of that 5,000 years the fellaheen in the Upper Nile today is still there with his *shadouf* and his little tripod, buckeling out his water and pouring it on to his land.

That is the extent of the progress which civilisation has given to him. In the poorest of continents, he is still one of the poorest.

### WHAT ABOUT ETHIOPIA?

Yet, a few miles up the Nile, one can see under the Anglo-Egyptian condominium the Gezira scheme from which, with a little help and a little organisation, they have been able to attain a standard of prosperity enjoyed by no other peasant in Africa.

The tragic approach which has been made from time to time to the problem is exemplified in one thing more than any other.

We rush in with the offer of £50 million or so to Egypt—that I copied yesterday from a United Nations publication recently issued. They are the opening words.

We rush in without any consultation, and yet up the Nile and the Blue Nile there is Ethiopia with all its problems, Ethiopia with its mud still going down the Nile and forming the soil which gives the Sudan and Egypt their prosperity, Ethiopia without the necessary afforestation to protect its hillsides and give it prosperity.

### AGGRESSIVE IMPERIALISM

No one thinks about Ethiopia because Ethiopia is not a threat, Ethiopia is not a menace, Ethiopia is not a Power.

Last night I turned to an old book that I



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“Out of the world's 900 million children two-thirds—or 600 million—lack adequate food, clothing, shelter and protection against disease. All they can look forward to is a short life burdened by privation and debilitating ills. Because most underprivileged children live in countries with the least means of improving child health standards, international aid is both essential and welcome.”

Mr. Speaker, you do not make friends of people by lending them money. I have lent quite a lot in my time, when I had some money, and I made a lot of enemies by that process.

Mr. Speaker, you do not make permanent friends of people because you are in a common jam together, but you can make friends of the people of the world if you preach a

## BANKING ON YOU



WE have decided to add two extra pages to Peace News this week—the only way open to us if we were not to leave out many important contributions at this time of crisis.

We can't afford it. We are banking on an extra response at this time from our readers—such as came from one in Loughborough last week: “Please find cheque for £3, the amount I saved by not going away for the week-end. I thought it could be more usefully used by Peace News.”

Can you help us in one of the following ways: Send us £1 for 12 copies each week for the next eight weeks. This will include the following special issues: “Prisoners for Peace”; The Christmas Number; and the Schoolboys' Exhibition.

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This House was confronted yesterday with one of the direst problems it has ever been called upon to confront (the Hungarian refugees).

## HELP REFUGEES

We finished on a little note that we would send a little help to refugees. People went away with a pious satisfaction that something at least had been done, that we had shown our sympathy with the suffering, and yet Europe is full of refugees whom we have neglected since the end of the last war.

There is an organisation to look after them but it has no money.

Year after year it has published reports that its work is frustrated by the failure of people to give help.

We gave £80,000 to this organisation, and we are a country that can spend £1,500 million on armaments. I am not attacking the present Government on this: my own Government was pretty bad. This has been the policy for the last ten or eleven years.

If we go on with this policy we stand condemned as whited sepulchres before the whole world.

For the refugees we give the equivalent of 1d. per year for every person in the Kingdom. There are 850,000 refugees in Arabia, and

the week in they are also suffering. Send an extra contribution to the Peace News Fund; ask your friends to contribute too. Take a collection for Peace News whenever possible.

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Leslie Hale, MP, will open the Peace News Bazaar, November 24, 3 p.m., Westminster Friends Meeting House, London, S.W.1.

## Baghdad Pact

TODAY we heard the news that the four other Baghdad Pact countries have met and passed a resolution asking us to get out of Egypt.

Those countries include Pakistan, a Commonwealth country which up to now has been by far the most docile Commonwealth country we have ever had.

I do not recollect any previous disagreement with Pakistan on international affairs. So the Baghdad Pact has gone.—Leslie Hale, MP, House of Commons, Nov. 8.

## PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service

3.30 p.m. Sunday Nov. 18, 1956

King's Weigh House Church, Binney St., W.1.  
(Near Bond St. Tube)

Discourse by GENE SHARP

"The Religion of Gandhi"

## SUEZ CRISIS



LET YOUR SAVINGS



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We all of us in the last day or two have been brought to look into an abyss much worse than that envisaged in 1938. Most of us would recoil from the prospect if it were humanly possible to do so.

## FOREIGN POLICY

Therefore, we are brought to two propositions... What is the foundation of an effective foreign policy?

Treaties? They are constantly torn up. We have torn up one or two. There was the Tripartite Declaration quite recently.

Alliances? Secret diplomacy still persists.

The United Nations? It is impossible for the United Nations to act with sufficient speed in an emergency.

Though I am all for standing by the United Nations, it is folly not to recognise that if Russian tanks crossed the Elbe there is nothing the United Nations could ever do in time, and France would be occupied before their deliberations were finished.

One of my right hon. Friends said that he did not think it was possible to agree a foreign policy in the Commonwealth. I do not myself call myself Christian.

We call ourselves a Christian country and certainly I have found in the New Testament as good a foreign policy as I have ever found in a party pamphlet.

I base that foreign policy on one statement

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Year after year it has published reports that its work is frustrated by the failure of people to give help.

We gave £80,000 to this organisation, and we are a country that can spend £1,500 million on armaments. I am not attacking the present Government on this: my own Government was pretty bad. This has been the policy for the last ten or eleven years.

If we go on with this policy we stand condemned as whited sepulchres before the whole world.

For the refugees we give the equivalent of 1d. per year for every person in the Kingdom.

There are 850,000 refugees in Arabia, and 200,000 in the Sinai Peninsula, and for them the figure works out at 1d. per year per head that we give out of our goodness to the poor and suffering of the world.

When we decided to spend £1,500 million or £1,600 million a year on armaments, I remember that... Mr. Bevan expressed dubiety whether we should get value for it... but I do not think that... he thought that we should be told, after four or five years of this stupendous rearmament in which we nearly doubled the normal post-war expenditure and multiplied by twelve or thirteen the pre-war expenditure, that we had not got any aeroplanes or army and that if we wanted to take on one of the weakest countries in the world we should have to call up reservists and train them for three months.

## ARMS USELESS

My right hon. Friend, in his brilliant speech last week, made reference to the hydrogen bomb.

We have now reached the stage when arms are useless, utterly useless. [Interruption.]... Let us face the fact that it would require very terrible circumstances indeed in which any Government of Great Britain could envisage the possible use of the hydrogen bomb.

We have reached a stage where we failed to divert Colonel Nasser from his purpose. In those circumstances, we are entitled to wonder what is the good of it.

Let us at least start by a substantial cut in what is a grossly wasteful expenditure and let us apply that money to the ends of decency.

Let us send our lads out, this time as messengers for health, as scientists who will try

Leslie Hale, MP, will open the Peace News Bazaar, November 24, 3 p.m., Westminster Friends Meeting House, London, S.W.1.

## Baghdad Pact

TODAY we heard the news that the four other Baghdad Pact countries have met and passed a resolution asking us to get out of Egypt.

Those countries include Pakistan, a Commonwealth country which up to now has been by far the most docile Commonwealth country we have ever had.

I do not recollect any previous disagreement with Pakistan on international affairs. So the Baghdad Pact has gone.—Leslie Hale, MP, House of Commons, Nov. 8.

## PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service

3.30 p.m. Sunday Nov. 18, 1956

King's Weigh House Church, Binney St., W.1. (Near Bond St. Tube)

Discourse by GENE SHARP

"The Religion of Gandhi"

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What have lovers of freedom to learn from the Hungarian struggle? Gene Sharp draws

# THE LESSON OF HUNGARY

THE plight of Hungary, November 1956, illustrates that no small nation can now hope by military means to be able by its own efforts to achieve and defend its independence and establish freedom—both internal and national—in the face of military action by one of the powerful Leviathans of our modern power-mad world.

The people of Hungary have demonstrated magnificent courage.

The early reports of unarmed peaceful demonstrations being fired on in the early days of the revolt by Russian tanks, of massacres by those tanks, and of unarmed people in thousands daring to return to the scene of the massacre in Budapest only a few hours later to again demonstrate for freedom must inspire admiration.

It was only after such atrocities as these that many of the Hungarians resorted to violence and sought vengeance.

## great courage

A Peace News correspondent recently in Budapest, reported from Vienna, that in the early stages of the revolt "the moral courage of large groups of unarmed revolutionaries so impressed many Russians in tanks that they turned round without firing."

"The victory was really won by the stopping of work in all factories, mines, and railways. Gas and electricity continued to supply the population."

"The Government had to give in because they could not compel the population to work and to support the armed forces. A large part of the army did not interfere at first and later on declared their support for the revolutionaries when they learnt that the Russian troops were called to assist."

The struggle since, however, seems to have become largely a military one with the Hungarians relying on armed resistance.

After the Russian attack on Hungary on November 4, those who in the face of certain defeat by the vastly superior armed forces, still dared to fight for their freedom, demonstrated great courage.

Admiration for the Hungarian's courage violence and arms as the means for winning and self-sacrifice, however, does not alter the fact that having come to rely largely on

national defence can offer, at best, an heroic stand, but it cannot have any possibility of defeating the aggressor.

Even if another Power State were to come to the aid militarily of the small nation the results would not be good.

The aggressor might be defeated, but in the process the small nation would probably be laid waste (as was Korea) and this time the world might be enveloped in the radio-active flames of the ultimate war.

Even if this did not happen and in the event of victory, the resulting regime in the small nation following the military struggle would be at best undemocratic and at worst a puppet of the Power State which had come to its aid.

A small nation, however, has an alternative. That alternative is not cowardly acquiescence to the invader. That can never be condoned.

The alternative is to recognise that violence cannot be relied upon to defend freedom, and that the preparation for such violence inevitably thwarts liberty and promotes the economic poverty of the people; and to adopt non-violent resistance as the means by which a people may preserve or win their freedom.

ternal democracy growing and developing are much enhanced.

There is an intimate connection between the violation of democracy and dictatorship, on the one hand, with military preparations and war on the other.

A nation which has felt the power and self-reliance of democracy, will be much more ready to sacrifice to maintain that freedom, than when they have lived under a regime which has suppressed internal freedom within the country.

(These two above advantages apply when non-violent resistance is adopted as a national policy. The remainder of these advantages of non-violence in such a struggle also apply to people who are seeking to attain their freedom.)

3. When a nation does not rely on military power, and instead uses active non-violent methods of resistance, the aggressor or tyrant appears before the world, including the people of his own country, as the perpetrator of brutal violence against a peaceful, unarmed people, and in the most unfavourable light possible.

The true nature of that regime is thus revealed to the world.

*Despite their courage, when the Hungarian people in their struggle came to rely largely on violence and arms, and when faced by the vastly overpowering Soviet forces, there could be only one result; they would be crushed. Yet there is another way to achieve and defend freedom.*

This is not an easy way. In many ways it is much more difficult and requires greater courage and heroism. It does offer, however, the possibility of being successful.

It is possible to conduct such a struggle without compromise on basic issues, by methods which enable an already noble

other types of non-violent protest is not dependent upon the presence or absence of material weapons.

5. When a nation does not rely on military power, all the people of that nation can actively participate in the struggle: young and old, men and women.

The human resources of the whole population are thus available for their freedom struggle, rather than the main population being excluded from the active struggle because of their age, sex, etc.

## moral power

6. When a nation does not rely on military power, and at the same time does not acquiesce to tyranny or invasion, but rather resists it with all the non-violent means at its disposal, that nation and people will generate a moral power of inestimable value in their struggle for freedom.

It will have its effect upon all—including the opponent.

When a people do not sink to the level of the aggressor, but stand determined to be free and willing to sacrifice, as much as those who would rely on violence, they have in their armory the world's most powerful weapon—the weapon of moral power—which no one can take from them.

7. When a nation does not rely on military power, but does rely on non-violent resistance, the kind of society and freedom which exists after the struggle will be far superior to that which would follow even a successful violent struggle.

Non-violence develops self-reliance in the people and the internal democracy within the country (just as violence results in the suppression of democracy).

The chances of the struggle against oppression which is conducted by non-violent means being taken over by counter-revolutionaries are minimal, whereas they may find it fairly easy to do so in a violent struggle.

This is because of the basic difference in the two methods of struggle: in a violent struggle the power and leadership usually become increasingly concentrated as the struggle goes on, whereas a non-violent struggle, although it may begin with strong leadership and concentrated authority accepted voluntarily, results as the campaign continues in the decentralisation and diffusion of control and authority.

This has three psychological effects: the people of the unarmed nation thus become united against the aggressor; world opinion rallies to the support of the invaded and oppressed nation using non-violent resistance; the chance of sympathy and support from the nationals of the invading State



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Admiration for the Hungarian's courage and arms as the means for winning and self-sacrifice, however, does not alter the fact that having come to rely largely on their freedom, when faced by vastly overpowering military strength, there could only be one result: they would be crushed.

## no victory

It has been unfortunate that violence has been used by the Hungarian people in their struggle for liberty. It has proven to have been ineffective in achieving liberty. Non-violent resistance—though a more difficult course—would have offered greater benefits when applied with comparable courage.

Defeated militarily, the Hungarians seem now to be turning to reliance on passive resistance, including the general strike. It remains to be seen whether the Hungarians will be able to win by this expedient means at this stage of the struggle.

Having first resorted to arms, and only when defeated having turned to passive resistance, the Hungarians have lost certain of the psychological advantages and moral power which would have been theirs had they originally chosen non-violent resistance.

Their struggle now with passive resistance will be very difficult. With sufficient courage and self-sacrifice they may yet win.

Confronted by a powerful attacking State, the small nation that relies on arms for

freedom, and that the preparation for such violence inevitably thwarts liberty and promotes the economic poverty of the people; and to adopt non-violent resistance as the means by which a people may preserve or win their freedom.

**Despite their courage, when the Hungarian people in their struggle came to rely largely on violence and arms, and when faced by the vastly overpowering Soviet forces, there could be only one result; they would be crushed. Yet there is another way to achieve and defend freedom.**

This is not an easy way. In many ways it is much more difficult and requires greater courage and heroism. It does offer, however, the possibility of being successful.

It is possible to conduct such a struggle without compromise on basic issues, by methods which enable an already noble cause.

These methods of resistance have certain moral and strategic advantages for such a people—or indeed for any people who sincerely adopt them as their method of maintaining or attaining their freedom, whether they be ready to renounce violence in all situations outside of that struggle or not.

1. When a nation does not rely on military power, it can use its economic resources for the benefit of the people as a whole, rather than impoverishing the people by the draining off of resources and manpower in unproductive and wasteful, and ultimately useless channels.

The creativity and enthusiasm of the people could thus be channeled into constructive work for improving the welfare of the people.

One of the results of this would be that the poorer people of such a country would feel much more like opposing an invader, than when, partly because of the military programme, they had been impoverished under their own national regime.

## democracy

2. When a nation does not rely on military power, the chances of its own in-

terprator of brutal violence against a peaceful, un-armed people, and in the most unfavourable light possible.

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This has three psychological effects: the people of the unarmed nation thus become united against the aggressor; world opinion rallies to the support of the invaded and oppressed nation using non-violent resistance; the chance of sympathy and support from the nationals of the invading State is thus greatly enhanced, as the invading State can lay no claim to be acting in "self-defence," or removing a threat.

## self-reliance

4. When a nation does not rely on military power, it is more self-reliant in its struggle for freedom.

When it relies on violence and armaments in its struggle, and there are no further supplies of arms, the resistance collapses.

And even when the supply is fairly adequate, the arms of a power State will inevitably be heavier and unlimited in quantity.

But when the people do not rely on arms, the opponent cannot crush the movement by taking away their weapons, or cutting off their source of supply, for the people have no need for guns, dynamite, or bombs.

Their sources are thus basically inner resources, consisting of their inner strength, fearlessness, and ability to apply non-violent methods of resisting injustice.

The ability to conduct non-co-operation, civil disobedience, boycotts, strikes, mass peaceful defiance, parades and marches, and

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## weapons of freedom

8. When a nation does not rely on military power and instead uses non-violent resistance, the people become "armed" with and trained to use the "weapons of freedom"; they learn how to struggle non-violently against oppression and injustice.

Thus, in the post-revolutionary period, they are far better able—both morally and in ability to apply non-violent resistance—to defend and extend their freedom.

Each example of a non-violent struggle, likewise, serves as an example to others facing or threatened by oppression; it thus has a comparable effect for such oppressed people as would, in a violent struggle, a shipment of arms and military strategists to aid them in their struggle, in so much as they are given weapons—this time moral and non-violent "weapons"—and shown how to wield them.

Any non-violent struggle for freedom, of any people, thus is an aid to the freedom of all and serves as another contribution to the growing use of non-violence in human struggles for peace, justice, and freedom.

While we mourn for Hungary, let us at the same time learn well the lesson of that heroic but tragic struggle.

# Gandhi on the sources of the power of non-violence

This report by Mahadev Desai is of an interview between Prof. Mays, an American Negro, and Gandhi at Sevagram in 1937.

This appears in Non-Violence in Peace

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This appears in *Non-Violence in Peace and War, Vol. I*, published by Navajivan.

"I HAVE no doubt in my mind about the superiority of non-violence," said Prof. Mays. "But the thing that bothers me is about its exercise on a large scale, the difficulty of so disciplining the mass mind on the point of love."

"It is easier to discipline individuals. What should be the strategy when they break out? Do we retreat or do we go on?"

"I have had that experience," said Gandhiji, "in the course of our movement here. People do not gain the training by preaching. Non-violence cannot be preached. It has to be practised."

"The practice of violence can be taught to people by outward symbols. You shoot at boards, then at targets, then at beasts. Then you are passed as an expert in the art of destruction."

"The non-violent man has no outward weapon and, therefore, not only his speech but his action also seems ineffective."

"I may say all kinds of sweet words to you without meaning them. On the other hand I may have real love in me and yet my outward expression may be forbidding."

"Then outwardly my action in both cases may be the same and yet the effect may be different."

"For the effect of our action is often more potent when it is not patently known."

"Thus the unconscious effect you are making on me I may never know. It is, nevertheless, infinitely greater than the conscious effect. In violence there is nothing invisible."

"Non-violence, on the other hand, is three-fourths invisible, and so the effect is in the inverse ratio to its invisibility. Non-violence, when it becomes active, travels with extraordinary velocity, and then it becomes a miracle. So the mass mind is affected first unconsciously, then consciously. When it becomes consciously affected, there is demonstrable victory."

"In my own experience, when people seemed to be weakening there was no consciousness of defeat in me."

"Thus I was fuller of hope in the efficacy of non-violence after the renunciation of civil disobedience in 1922, and today I continue to be in the same hopeful mood."

"It is not a mere emotional thing. Sup-

posing I saw no signs of dawn coming, I should not lose faith. Everything has to come in its proper time."

"I have discussions here with my co-workers about the scavenging work we are doing. Why can't we do it after Swaraj [self-rule]? they say. 'We may do it better after Swaraj.'"

"I say to them, 'No. The reform has to come today, it must not wait for Swaraj; in fact the right type of Swaraj will come only out of such work.'"

"Now I cannot show you, as perhaps I cannot show some of my co-workers, the connection between Swaraj and scavenging."

"If I have to win Swaraj non-violently, I must discipline my people."

"The maimed and the blind and the leprous cannot join the army of violence. There is also an age-limit for serving in the army."

"For a non-violent struggle there is no age-limit; the blind and the maimed and the

bed-ridden may serve, and not only men but women also."

"When the spirit of non-violence pervades the people and actually begins to work, its effect is visible to all."

"But now comes your poser. There are people, you say, who do not believe in non-violence as you do. Are you to sit quiet? The friends ask: 'If not now, when will you act?'"

"I say in reply: 'I may not succeed in my lifetime, but my faith that victory can only come through non-violence is stronger than ever.'"

"When I spoke on the cult of the spinning wheel at Faizpur, a newspaper correspondent imputed astuteness to me. Nothing could be farther from my mind."

"When I came to Sevagram I was told the people might not co-operate and might even boycott me. I said: 'That may be. But this is the way non-violence works. If I go to a village which is still farther off, the experiment may work better.'"

"This thing has come in my search after the technique of non-violence. And each day that passes makes my faith brighter."

"I have come here to bring that faith to fruition and to die in the process if that is God's will."

"Non-violence to be worth anything has to work in the face of hostile forces."

"But there may be action in inaction. And action may be worse than inaction."

## DEMOCRACY AND VIOLENCE

"One thing is certain. If the mad race for armaments continues, it is bound to result in a slaughter such as has never occurred in history. If there is a victor left, the very victory will be a living death for the nation that emerges victorious."

"There is no escape from the impending doom save through a bold and unconditional acceptance of the non-violent method with all its glorious implications."

"Democracy and violence can ill go together."

"The States that are today nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian or, if they are to become truly democratic, they must become courageously non-violent."

"It is blasphemy to say that non-violence can only be practised by individuals and never by nations which are composed of individuals."

Mohandas K. Gandhi  
November 12, 1938.





Donald Soper

Photo by courtesy of Tribune

Dr. Donald Soper, outstanding British pacifist Methodist minister, on the evening of November 4 delivered this sermon to a congregation of 2,000 people. He called on them to refuse support for the British Government's war in Egypt and to practise civil disobedience. We regard this sermon as of lasting significance. The text is from Constance Willis.

**I** DID not think that before this series of sermons, "The World Can Live in Peace", was through, this country would be at war.

I take little comfort from those who say we are not at war but "engaged in armed conflict." People are being killed—airmen and, maybe, soldiers and sailors are fighting.

I have for many years proclaimed my complete conviction that all fighting is contrary to the spirit and teaching of my Lord. Therefore my heart is heavy that there are unmistakable evidences that warfare has broken out.

I did not expect that, for the first time in my life, I should have to feel ashamed of the country in which I was born and which I love.

I did not think that I should ever feel, as an Englishman, helpless to press the claims of the United Nations because we are in no moral condition to press its claims. We have flouted them.

It may yet be that we have struck a mortal blow at what has been described as "the hope of the world."

I shall try to speak with circumspection. At least you will then know what it is that you have to disagree with and what it is that binds us together.

## NOT ENOUGH

I begin with the profound sense that this country has betrayed its moral trust and, therefore, I am compelled to ask myself: What ought I, as a professing Christian, to do?

I notice that the politicians who feel as I do have committed themselves to what they describe as "Constitutional measures to endeavour to unseat the Government and to

# WHEN FACED WITH WAR

## "I...must obey God rather than men"—Dr. Soper

### "NO CONSTITUTIONAL OR LEGAL MEASURES CAN STAND IN THE WAY"

Kingdom of God," and "The man who does not love Me more than his wife and children is not worthy of Me."

There is nothing sacrosanct about any State or any Government. True, it ought to be cherished as the corporate expression of our social life; it has demands which have to be met; it bestows blessings and expects duties in return.

But there come situations when I must obey God, even if it means that I must disobey the Civil Magistrate.

We have a glorious history of those who have, with simple consistency, challenged the laws of their land. We owe much to the Christian rebels of past generations.

If it was good enough for Dr. Clifford to flout the law in the cause of Christian education, then it is good enough in the interests of world peace that we should prefer to serve God than our country. I believe the best service of the country is the service of God.

I stand before you tonight as one advocating for myself and my fellow Ministers an attitude of civil disobedience.

That is not an easy thing to say, but as I think of the people of Hungary, of Egypt and Israel, and the people of this country,

I am finally satisfied that, until one community is prepared to base its policy on non-violent action, no real progress can be made.

I am not disgruntled but I would gently

If a thing is wrong, then, whatever your motives, don't.

I don't want to border on what I believe to be a highly controversial matter except to say that it seems to me we are suffering already from a political tyranny.

Three times the people of this country have, through their accredited representatives in the House of Commons, voted against the death sentence, but the Government is still devising methods whereby those representatives may be discredited.

## PEACE WILL COME

This country is divided—almost evenly divided. I am sure everyone of us here tonight feels the tension not of a community that marches forward with unanimity of spirit, but of a troubled community.

The mortal blow which has been struck at the United Nations has invalidated our own position.

I pray that the United Nations may recover, but how can I condemn Russia—Russia, who ought to be condemned for a horrible crime in Hungary—when our own country has forfeited the moral right to do so?

But what I can do is this. I am a pacifist—maybe you are not—but I want to say to you:

**The United Nations represents a nobler**

quest for justice than has ever been professed by the nations because it is the only supra-national court in the world.

I call upon you tonight, as Christian people, to support it; though you may not be able to feel that the United Nations goes as far as you want to go, it at least is looking in the right direction.

What will happen if we defy the Government? The politician always has to envisage very carefully the outcome. I would say no more about the Churches and their timidity.

I do not believe that the future depends on the wisdom of men, or on the capacity of human beings to work out splendid schemes.

Peace is not coming when we are clever enough. Peace will come when we obey God. "Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find." Why?—because it is God's will.

Jesus says: "Follow Me." By His grace I intend to follow Him, and where my way diverges from the community in which I live I still intend to follow Him.

And when the Christian Church is prepared to take this way, maybe we shall suffer, but we shall do what our blessed Lord promised us long ago: we shall find the Kingdom, not only for ourselves but for others.





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I notice that the politicians who feel as I do have committed themselves to what they describe as "Constitutional measures to endeavour to unseat the Government and to end the fighting. I share their convictions and, as politicians, they should be constitutional.

I notice that the Church, insofar as it has said anything at all and insofar as what it says is intelligible, has deplored the present state of affairs and has expressed its sorrow and has canvassed the possibility of peace.

**I say to you now as clearly as I can that, for me, neither the constitutional programme of the Opposition in Parliament nor the sense of grief and woe in the Christian Church is enough.**

I have to search my own conscience and say to myself: What is my duty?—and remember that I speak for myself, as a Christian—what is my duty when I am convinced that a moral blunder has taken place, when I am convinced that the path we are now treading is a path which will lead to overwhelming disaster?

The answer:—

**I, as an individual Christian, must obey God rather than men; when I am satisfied that Jesus Christ demands a certain course of action from me, no constitutional or legal measures can stand in the way.**

**I reconcile this stand with what Jesus said: "The man who puts his hand to the plough and looks back is not fit for the**

**work.**

There is nothing sacrosanct about any State or any Government. True, it ought to be cherished as the corporate expression of our social life; it has demands which have to be met; it bestows blessings and expects duties in return.

**But there come situations when I must obey God, even if it means that I must disobey the Civil Magistrate.**

**We have a glorious history of those who have, with simple consistency, challenged the laws of their land. We owe much to the Christian rebels of past generations.**

If it was good enough for Dr. Clifford to flout the law in the cause of Christian education, then it is good enough in the interests of world peace that we should prefer to serve God than our country. I believe the best service of the country is the service of God.

I stand before you tonight as one advocating for myself and my fellow Ministers an attitude of civil disobedience.

That is not an easy thing to say, but as I think of the people of Hungary, of Egypt and Israel, and the people of this country,

**I am finally satisfied that, until one community is prepared to base its policy on non-violent action, no real progress can be made.**

I am not disgruntled, but I would gently like to say that I have been advocating this for twenty years!

## NO TRUCK WITH WAR

If you build up armaments, if you send guns to Egypt and Israel, if you fill the air with bombing planes, and proceed from what you call strength, you will sooner or later set the world on fire.

It is as inevitable as the sunshine.

**For too long we have lived by the slogan: "The only way to preserve peace is to prepare for war." For the third time in my life they have proved this is in grievous error.**

I speak realising that the challenge will not come to me in quite the same way as to you. I believe your duty is to withhold your practical support for that which, in the name of Jesus, you know to be wrong.

I think of a young hero in my Church who, though he had been unemployed for some time, refused to go to a brewery because he was a teetotaler.

I call you to refuse to have any truck with war because you are a Christian, whatever may be the various arguments put forward for taking part in it.

**In war, truth is the first casualty. In 1939 how admirable were the arguments on Tower Hill until the war started, and then, like a pack of cards, all reasoned argument collapsed.**

**Inflamed passion, the perversion of the truth, and superstition took its place, and we only saw distorted caricatures of the truth; we were dependent on the propaganda of those who spoke to us.**

I therefore say to those of you who believe that if a thing is wrong you must not support it: God calls you to withhold your service, not to wait for the day when you can

## PEACE WILL COME

This country is divided—almost evenly divided. I am sure everyone of us here tonight feels the tension not of a community that marches forward with unanimity of spirit, but of a troubled community.

The mortal blow which has been struck at the United Nations has invalidated our own position.

I pray that the United Nations may recover, but how can I condemn Russia—Russia, who ought to be condemned for a horrible crime in Hungary—when our own country has forfeited the moral right to do so?

But what I can do is this. I am a pacifist—maybe you are not—but I want to say to you:

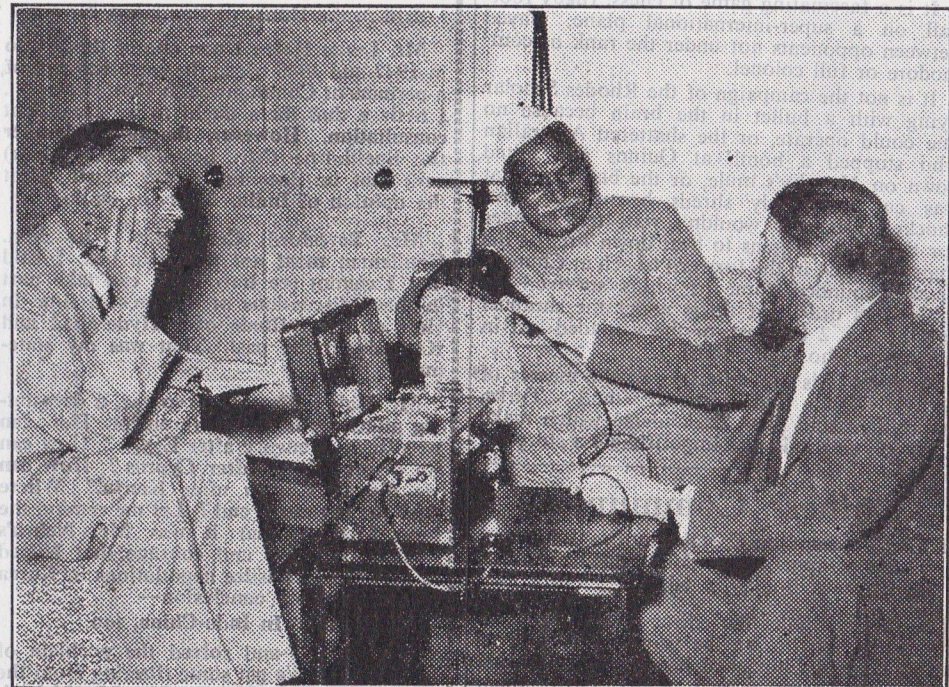
**The United Nations represents a nobler**

**I do not believe that the future depends on the wisdom of men, or on the capacity of human beings to work out splendid schemes.**

**Peace is not coming when we are clever enough. Peace will come when we obey God. "Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find." Why?—because it is God's will.**

Jesus says: "Follow Me." By His grace I intend to follow Him, and where my way diverges from the community in which I live I still intend to follow Him.

And when the Christian Church is prepared to take this way, maybe we shall suffer, but we shall do what our blessed Lord promised us long ago: we shall find the Kingdom, not only for ourselves but for others.



Cockney members of the Kingsley Hall centre at Bow, London, will be among those recalling personal memories of Mahatma Gandhi in "Gandhi in England," the third of four features comprising a portrait of Gandhi by those who knew him, to be heard in the BBC Third Programme on Sunday, November 18.

Gandhi stayed at Kingsley Hall during his visit to London for the Round Table Conference in 1931, and met, among others, Miss Muriel Lester, one of the founders of the centre, Albert Docker, Martha Rutherford and Mrs. Barton, all of whom will take part in this programme.

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The series has been written and compiled by Francis Watson and Maurice Brown, who is its producer. Mr. Watson is seen above (left) interviewing Rajendra Prasad, President of India.

## BEVERLY VEGETARIAN RESTAURANT

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and, as a pacifist, they should be conscientious objectors. I notice that the Church, insofar as it has said anything at all and insofar as what it says is intelligible, has deplored the present state of affairs and has expressed its sorrow and has canvassed the possibility of peace.

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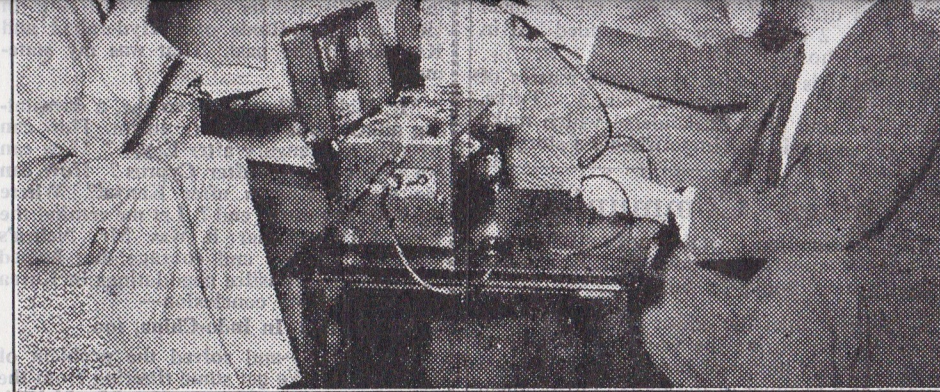
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I therefore say to those of you who believe that if a thing is wrong you must not support it: God calls you to withhold your service, not to wait for the solidarity of the Trade Union movement.

I am sure that the Christian Church must preserve an absolute loyalty in principle and spirit. I say to you young men: Don't fight.



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At the time of this amalgamation the total membership was 77,000 and the sales £2,500,000. A year later it was still further augmented when the West London Society (founded by District Railwaymen in 1895) joined the larger organisation, and from this date onwards the Committee of Management have carried out a policy of development and expansion. Over the years this plan, coupled with the rigid insistence of keeping down prices and returning the profits as dividend, has been richly rewarded by continuously increasing trade and membership, so that today the Society has almost 1½ million members in its operational and trading area of roughly 400 square miles. Its boundaries at Uxbridge and Southend are some 70 miles apart in the east/west direction. It extends northwards from its general southern boundary—the river Thames—to places such as Barnet and Potters Bar.

It costs only 2s. for anyone over the age of 16 to join the Society, at any branch.



# BOOKS

## GALLIPOLI

Ormond Burton reviews

**Gallipoli**, by Alan Moorehead. London, Hamish Hamilton, 10s. 6d.

THE book is a balanced, temperate, accurate and informative reconstruction of the Gallipoli campaign. The writer's criticisms are fair, and made with restraint, whether he is dealing with Ian Hamilton's lack of ruthless drive at critical moments, Monro's unimaginative investigation, or Stopford's inertia.

No one reading the book would be inclined to place any particular faith in the infallibility of professional soldiers and sailors.

The book shatters any C. S. Forester legend of the navy—let alone the army.

Two only of the high-ranking officers mentioned emerge with enhanced reputation—Keyes, who was just a little too junior to sway the fortunes of the campaign, and Kemal, whose leadership brought victory to the Turks at the crisis of the battle of the landing and again in that of the struggle for Chunuk Bain.

Any description of the Gallipoli campaign must inevitably be compared with John Masefield's classic, especially as the author has elected to use the same title.

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He is able, on the other hand, to make judgments and give information that could only be given after the passing of the years.

Moorehead is only concerned with the campaign as an event in the history of war. He does not question the morality of such a struggle or see in it any warning for the future.

It is a fascinating game of chess, rugby football on a super-international plane, played between opponents not under the rank of commodore or full colonel.

It is not the campaign of the Rhodes Scholar dying with a bullet in the brain because no one could operate, or the shattered Australian who stopped a bomb at Quinns and jolted down on Murphy's mule, or the battalion that was cut to bloody shreds because a rum-shocked brigadier wouldn't wait ten minutes for the machine guns to beat down fire, or the

# American reactions to the British policy on Suez

By WILFRED WELLOCK

AN English lecturer in the United States these days is confronted with an inescapable dilemma. He must either speak on the British invasion of the Suez Canal Zone or invite the conclusion that he is unable to defend British policy and lacks the courage to oppose it.

Such is the bewilderment of Americans concerning British policy, and such is their desire for an explanation or defence of it, that an Englishman who does not show willingness to discuss the matter is a problem as baffling as British policy itself.

The American people deeply appreciate the magnificent record of liberation of nations from colonial imperial rule of the last eleven years. But that is all the more reason why they cannot fathom Britain's policy in Egypt.

They ask the simple question "Why, seeing that Egypt is to own the canal by 1968 anyway, the forwarding of this event by 12 years can justify a considerable military operation in defiance of the agreed principles of the UN?"

## WHAT ANSWER?

What makes this question stand out so sharply is that at the very moment when this second threat of invasion of Egyptian territory is being made, representatives of Egypt, France and Britain were trying to settle the six points which had been agreed upon at a recent meeting of the Security Council.

The explanation of this situation is seen in the fact that Russia is immersed in the revolt of the satellite countries of Central Europe against her overlordship and the further fact that Israeli forces have entered Egyptian territory, since they provide Britain with a golden opportunity of doing now what they were prevented

from doing a few weeks ago—viz., to bring Nasser down and possibly set up a more expendable Government.

What answer has a British subject who has followed very closely all the events since July 26 in connection with the Suez issue, to give to these comments and inquiries?

## NO MORAL POWER

I can see only one, which I give with good reasons.

It is that current British policy in Egypt exposes a tragic relapse in British statesmanship.

It is the relapse of a weak Prime Minister who lacked the moral power to reject the demands of a powerful group of Conservative imperial diehards in the Conservative Party.

Eden acted firmly on the issue of withdrawing Britain's military forces from Cairo, but collapsed under the onslaught occasioned by Nasser's declaration to nationalise the Canal Company.

Americans recognise that the US and British withdrawals of their offer of loans for the building of the Aswan dam were a threat to Nasser's power and that it was necessary to restore his prestige if his authority was to be restored.

They also recognise that it may be highly dangerous to overthrow him, not only as regards Egyptian reactions, but those of the entire coloured world.

To my suggestion that the nationalisation of the oil industries in the Arab world will inevitably come to the fore in the very near future, Americans respond favourably.

## WHY NOT NOW?

They also do to my suggestion that the immediate need is for Britain and the United States to offer their sincere co-operation in an attempt to probe the roots of the Israel-Arab problem to evolve a sound and just oil policy throughout the area, as the first step in the development of a free and democratic Arab civilisation.

Americans like the idea that an election can be held at any time if need be, but cannot understand why Britain doesn't have an election "right now" when the present Government has

# A child's life of Gandhi

Gandhi's love of God

Last week we read how Gandhi lived in his little cottage, with screens, curtains, floor mats, baskets all made of plaited palm leaves. He refused to have anything which a poor man could not also have.

ALL this goodness and sweetness came from his great love of God. He saw God in every living creature. Without God nothing on earth could live. The life in each one of us is a little spark of the eternal life of God.

We all know this, but we forget it again and again. Gandhi never forgot it. That is why he was able to look with love on every creature, however unlovable or ugly.

This great love of God made him take great joy in prayer. He never failed to pray morning or evening. He used to say that whatever trouble we are in, there is no medicine like

AS TOLD BY GERTRUDE MURRAY TO  
THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

prayer. Morning or evening prayers at Sevagram were something no visitor ever forgot.

Gandhi used to say that the desert was the best place for prayer. In the desert, where there is nothing to see all around but sand, and the blue sky above, our hearts easily turn to God. Our minds are not distracted by even a tree or a flower.

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And yet it is the sufferings of the masses of men—British and French and Turks, Australians and New Zealanders—which make Gallipoli so tragic and imperishable a story.

## Chinese Communism

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IN this pamphlet the editor of the Times of India, who during the war was a war correspondent in China and has since visited that country as a member of the Indian Government cultural delegation, examines the widely held belief that Chinese Communism is independent of the Russian party line, and that Mao Tse-tung is evolving a special variety of his own.

That, Mr. Moraes thinks, is a myth, despite all appearances to the contrary the policy of Peking is tied to that of Moscow.

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## WITH WHAT MORAL RIGHT?

Said in the House of Commons, Nov. 8

**Mr. Leslie Hale:** I was one of those who in 1947 and 1948 urged the establishment of a permanent Commonwealth Conference . . . I believe that there ought to be permanent consultation. However, the hon. Member for Spelthorne (Mr. Beresford Craddock) says that he does not worry much about the opinion of India. Many of us do.

**Mr. Beresford Craddock:** The hon. Gentleman must not misquote me. I said that I cannot see how India can take part in these discussions at the present time in view of her attitude over Hyderabad and Kashmir in the past. That was my statement.

**Mr. Hale:** That is, of course, a devastating attack upon the Government. How can we discuss Hungary after Egypt? How can we discuss Egypt after Cyprus? How can we discuss Cyprus after Kenya? Where does the argument end? Let me remind the hon. Member that it was Mr. Nehru's wisdom, patience and courage that helped to bring the armistice negotiations in Korea to a satisfactory conclusion—

**Mr. Bevan:** In Indo-China, too.

**Mr. Hale:**—and solved the problem of Indo-China. We get some tittering from the other side of the House when Mr. Nehru's name is mentioned. He is one of the great men of the world. He would be the first to say that there was a greater than he who preceded him, whom right hon. Gentlemen opposite used to call "a half-naked fakir."

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## No lasting good from war

THE Pope in an encyclical letter on events in Poland, Hungary and Egypt, quoted from the Catholic Herald, November 9, 1956:

"Let everyone, especially those who hold the fate of peoples in their hands, consider that no lasting good can ever arise from war, but only a great number of evils and calamities."

"It is not with arms, not with slaughter, not with ruins that disputes between men are solved, but only through reason, law, prudence and equity."

NATO Maritime Forces have just completed their longest exercise, "Cut Loose." They didn't!

## AS TOLD BY GERTRUDE MURRAY TO THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

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Sometimes parts of the Zend Avesta of the Parsees and the Jewish Talmud were added.

THUS we see that all religions were honoured by Gandhi who wanted everyone to be left free to love and serve God in his own way. Quarrels about religion were terrible in his eyes.

It was Gandhi's love of God, too, that made him careful never to waste anything.

Since millions of people in the world, especially in India, live always in the greatest poverty and want, he felt it to be a great sin to waste

● ON PAGE EIGHT

## THE VOICE

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T.R.D.

## Dentist's autobiography

John Barnard reviews

**This Won't Hurt a Bit**, by Haddon Rowat, Bristol, John Wright & Sons, 12s. 6d.

A CURIOUS book this is; in two sections and in all about Penguin length.

At first an autobiography, with some insight into the lurid recent past of dentistry. Would this have made an interesting book by itself? It might, but a style avoiding almost entirely the use of the first person singular makes autobiography into very difficult reading.

Then the author comments on several social problems surrounding Dental Surgery today; a chapter to each. Some of this, again, is interesting reading, but before one buys this sort of book it is wise to get it out of the library.

## WINIFRED HOLTBY

**Winifred Holthby** (1898-1935). A concise and selected Bibliography together with some letters. Hull, A. Brown and Sons, 6s.

THIS is the first cheap edition of a book first published in 1955. Compiled and edited by Geoffrey Handley-Taylor, it has a two-colour title page and nine art-plates in sepia. There is a foreword by Vera Brittain who has also signed this special issue of only 420 copies which are being sold in aid of the Winifred Holthby Memorial Fund.

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## No lasting good from war

THE Pope in an encyclical letter on events in Poland, Hungary and Egypt, quoted from the Catholic Herald, November 9, 1956:

"Let everyone, especially those who hold the fate of peoples in their hands, consider that no lasting good can ever arise from war, but only a great number of evils and calamities."

"It is not with arms, not with slaughter, not with ruins that disputes between men are solved, but only through reason, law, prudence and equity."

NATO Maritime Forces have just completed their longest exercise, "Cut Loose." They didn't!

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THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION, 29 GREAT JAMES STREET, LONDON, W.C.1



## The crisis

THE international events of the past week have cried out for police actions all right. But a true police action would not consist of sending armies into an area to risk another Korean war, nor of the criminals handing over to the "police" the reins of their action for the police to carry out against the victim.

A genuine police action at the present moment would be much simpler; it would consist of sending constituted international authorities from the UN General Assembly to "arrest" and hail before an international tribunal the responsible agents who launched aggressive warfare: Prime Minister Eden, Premier Guy Mollet and Premier Ben Gurion.

For the events which followed by several days in Hungary, Premier Bulganin would be next.

There is a precedent for this in the arrest and trial of the Nazi War Criminals at Nuremberg in 1946.

I do not propose, of course, that these heads of state should be threatened personally to the extent of execution or even imprisonment. But they should be tried and removed from power in their own countries if found guilty.

A fantastic proposal? Perhaps. Yet who knows what might have been its world opinion-forming effect if tried last week? Impractical? It is the "practical" men who have brought us to the present brink.

What is needed at this moment of crisis is to break away from the failures of past techniques. The UN is a shell unless it can move ahead in a lawless world to become a genuine law-giving and enforcing agency.

**ROY C. KEPLER.**

13686 Page Mill Rd.,  
Los Altos, Calif., U.S.A.

ONE day in 1917 I found myself alone with two German soldier opponents. The odds seemed against me. I killed them both.

In a matter of moments more I realised that this murder from fear had been pointless.

It became clear that both men were very likely prepared to surrender: probably as glad to give up fighting as I certainly would have been.

In the circumstances—"over the top," and with my comrades killed or scattered—the unexpected onset of these German lads had pinpointed the panic for which my training as a soldier had prepared me to act instantaneously and in only one way.

A moment's pause to reflect on the situation would have been enough to save those lad's lives—and me from a crime against humanity.

The pause I dared not permit myself on that occasion is the pause the peoples of the world may take today.

To ex-servicemen in particular I believe I have a right to appeal. At the end of 1918 and at the end of 1945 they said: "Never

## LETTERS

HOW far do the events in Ireland's relationship with Britain immediately prior to August 1914 suggest a precedent for today's happenings in the Middle East?

One and all should be ready to reinforce any voicings of the "still small voice" within however weak or feeble its manifestation and in whatsoever quarter it may speak.

Ulster in 1914 prepared by armed violence to defy the legislated enactment of Home Rule passed by the Liberal Government of the day.

Leading Conservative politicians declared themselves as standing by the rebels and famous soldiers declared themselves to be unready in the event of being commanded to fight the rebels of carrying out the command of the Government they were sworn to serve.

Rotten to the core as was their cause, it is interesting to recall that no less illustrious a soldier than Field Marshal Lord Roberts of Kandahar was a conscientious objector at this point in his otherwise unbroken long military career.

**JOSEPH G. H. JACKSON.**

19 Coombe Gardens,  
Ensburry Park, Bournemouth.

### Mental hospitals

I WOULD like to comment on the short review, by Dr. Alfred Torrie, of the book by conscientious objector Victor Chapin, "On the Hill" (PN November 2).

During the late war, as a condition for my own conscientious objection, I too served several years in a Mental Hospital (in England) taking the training and examinations of a mental nurse.

I fully endorse, from my experience, Dr. Torrie's comments, until I reach the extraordinary assertion that "this book should be read as a douche of cold water in the burning assertion that an answer to aggression is non-violence, because in the last analysis this claim breaks down except in the case of saints like Gandhi."

I do not know whether this remarkable sentence is attributable to the author of the book, or its reviewer, but since it has appeared in print, it should not go unchallenged.

Personally, I claim no particular merit in the practice of non-violence, and am of a volatile temperament, but I never at any time of my service as a nurse experienced any desire to retaliate with violence when attacked (as I frequently was) by mental patients, in spite of the fact that I saw such retaliation practised by my fellow, and senior, nurses.

I was, indeed, disgusted by the treatment of violent patients by some of the staff.

Distinction should be made, of course, between forcible (if necessary) restraint of

Ordinary people, with all their vices and weaknesses, can, and must attempt the non-violent method, both in and out of mental hospitals.

That "the general thesis remains that the pacifist position is the only realistic one," as Dr. Torrie rather inconsistently concludes, is certainly true, is no thanks to his previously defeatist conclusion.

**FRANCES HOSKING.**

Kirlish, Drumquin,  
Co. Tyrone, Northern Ireland.

### POINTS FROM OTHER LETTERS

Thanks to Dr. Soper for his wonderful stand. He is in thousands of hearts as the man of the day. Let's live up to the times and set the people free wherever they may be chained—in Kenya, Hungary, Cyprus. Say no to war and conscription; yes to war on want. These are the thoughts of us average parents—James and Thelma Hutt, 106 Vassall Rd., London, S.W.9.

I have agreed to act as Northern Correspondent for the Fellowship Party. I hope that any reader in this area who feels the need for a pacifist political party will write to me in the first instance.—Albert Leaper, 22 Barrington Ave., Hull.

May I thank all who have helped the raising of the first £1,000 by Teddy Bears for UNICEF and other agencies fighting world famine. Each £1 saves 24 lives under UNICEF and adds five times that number of full-food rations to the world's stock potentially. More Teddy Bears available at 10s. and 4s.—John S. Hoyland, Kentmere, Rend., Birmingham.

There are two initial steps which should be taken now towards reconciliation in the Middle East: (1) offer adequate compensation to relatives of Egyptian soldiers and civilians who have been killed in the fighting and to compensate the wounded; (2) reopen the matter of assistance towards the construction of the Aswan Dam.—Wallace Hancock, 8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex.

November 16, 1956—PEACE NEWS—7

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To ex-servicemen in particular I believe I have a right to appeal. At the end of 1918 and at the end of 1945 they said: "Never again!"

I would beg of them: "Show your fellow-men that you mean today what you said then."

Just take heed of your own moral sense of what is right and wrong here and now. Tomorrow may be too late.

It is a war of nerves. Reject fear. Refuse to panic. On the immediately practical level refuse to take part either in fighting or in any war measure whatsoever.

In that moment of pause which is permitted you, reflect on the fact that wars will cease when men refuse to fight.

**SAM WALSH.**

10 Stevenstone Court,  
St. Giles-in-the-Wood, Devon.

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I was, indeed, disgusted by the treatment of violent patients by some of the staff.

Distinction should be made, of course, between forcible (if necessary) restraint of violent patients, for their own as well as other patients, and nurses' protection.

This, however, does not constitute "aggressive retaliation" on a personal level, and is purely practical.

Because a particular CO is unable to maintain his conduct on the level of his beliefs (understandable in the unnatural and perverted atmosphere of some mental hospitals), this does not constitute grounds for a generalised conclusion that only saints can practise non-violence.

This conclusion is, I submit, all too prevalent a belief, and is both dangerous and untenable.

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**HASTINGS:** 7 p.m.; 78a Norman Rd., St. Leonards. Minnie Pallister on her recent holiday in Denmark and Holland. Chair: Mary Wray. Refresh. Bring and Buy stall. Friends welcome. Peace Pledge Union.

**LOUGHBOROUGH:** 7.30 p.m.; Town Hall Lecture Rm, Market Pl. Films for peace. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7 p.m.; Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. Gene Sharp, MA. "The

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PERSONAL



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**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7 p.m.; Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. Gene Sharp, MA. "The Emergent Philosophy: Some elements of the solution to the contemporary crisis, and the significance of the emergence of a new social philosophy." The sixth of eight consecutive lectures on Non-Violence and Social Change. The Third Way and Pacifist Youth Action Group.

### Saturday, November 17

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3-5.30 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., Alfred Willets. "Difficulties and Successes of a Pacifist Teacher in a Secondary Modern School." Tea 4 p.m. (6d.). Education Commission, PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3-5 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Don Berkshire. Discussion. Religion Commission PPU.

**SWINDON:** 5.30 p.m.; Bath Rd. Methodist Ch. Dr. Takuo Matsumoto (Tokyo), formerly of Hiroshima, "The Situation in Japan." For.

### Sunday, November 18

**LONDON, W.1:** 3.30 p.m.; Weigh Ho. Ch., Binney St. Gene Sharp, "The Religion of Gandhi." Religion Commission PPU.

### Tuesday, November 20

**BELFAST:** 8 p.m.; Friends Inst., Frederick St. Study Group. Fellowship of Reconciliation.

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**HYDE PARK:** 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

### MONDAYS

**SHIPLEY:** 7.15 p.m.; Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

### TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

### THURSDAYS

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

### Wednesday, November 21

**KIDBROOKE:** 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd., Jonathan Franklin, "A Pacifist's Impression of Germany." Fellowship Party.

### Thursday, November 22

**BANSTEAD:** 8 p.m.; Winkworth Hall, High St. Film: Vivere in Pace (English and Italian dialogue—English captions) Epsom and District Peace Fellowship, 55 Culverhay, Ashted.

**HAMPSTEAD:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 120 Heath St. Henrietta Vermees, "The work of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation." Peace Pledge Union.

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. John Loverseed, AFC (Chairman Fellowship Party), "The Necessity for a Pacifist Political Party." Peace Pledge Union.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; 6 Endsleigh St. Prisoners for Peace Day, discussion. PYAG.

### Friday, November 23

**EPSOM:** 8 p.m.; Myers Hall (behind Ebbsisham Hall), Ashley Rd. Film: Vivere in Pace (English and Italian dialogue—English captions). Epsom and District Peace Fellowship, 55 Culverhay, Ashted.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7 p.m.; Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. Gene Sharp, MA. "Some elements in the programme and strategy of non-violent revolution." The seventh of eight consecutive lectures on Non-violence and Social Change. The Third Way and Pacifist Youth Action Group.

### Saturday, November 24

**BRIDGWATER:** 3 p.m.; Friends Ho., Arlo Tatum: "The Pacifist Struggle—a World View." Also produce sale. A.G.M. Western Area, Peace Pledge Union.

**LONDON, W.C.2:** 3-8 p.m.; Peace News Christmas Bazaar. Opener: Leslie Hale, MP. Numerous gift stalls, side-shows, non-stop refreshments, film show. Warm welcome to everyone. PN.

**WORKINGTON:** 3-9 p.m.; St. Michael's Ch. Hall, Dean St. "Atoms—War or Peace." Exhibition, Bookstall, Meeting and Fellowship. Society of Friends.

### Tuesday, November 27

**MANCHESTER:** 7.30 p.m.; 23 Church St., off King St., Streteford. (Transport from M/c, ring ALTrincham 2491) Cent. Group, PPU.

### Wednesday, November 28

**KIDBROOKE:** 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd., S.E.3. Music of Tchaikovsky. Fellowship Party.

### Thursday, November 29

**BLACKHEATH:** 8 p.m.; Sunfields Methodist Ch. Hall, Old Dover Rd. Men only. Ronald Mallone, BA. "Fellowship Party Challenge to War." Methodist Men's Circle.  
**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Group discussion. PPU.

### Friday, November 30

**BELLINGHAM:** 7.45 p.m.; St. Dunstan's Ch. Hall, Bellingham Green. "End Conscriptation Now." John Loverseed, AFC, and other national speakers. Fellowship Party.  
**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7 p.m.; Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. Gene Sharp, MA. "What of the future?" The last of eight consecutive lectures on Non-violence and Social Change. The Third Way and Pacifist Youth Action Group.

### Saturday, December 1

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 10 a.m.-5 p.m.; Club Room, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. All are invited to sign Christmas cards to imprisoned war resisters. 3 p.m.; address by Arlo Tatum, Sec., War Resisters' International. Donations to cost of room welcomed. PYAG.

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Whilst the policy of Peace News is not to restrict any concern or individual from advertising in these columns, it must be noted that we do not necessarily share the views nor the opinions of all our advertisers.

### MEETINGS

**MODERN MENACES TO YOUR HEALTH.** James Thomson (Edinburgh), Caxton Hall, Mon., Nov. 19. 7.30 p.m., 2s. London Natural Health Soc.

**WOMEN PREACHERS,** Kings Weigh House Church (near Bond St. Tube). Sunday evenings, 6.30 p.m. Nov. 18, Professor Kathleen Lonsdale.

### ACCOMMODATION

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### LITERATURE

**JE NE TUERAI PAS,** by Jacques le Jeune. An authoritative statement of the Catholic pacifist position, in French, published by the For in Brussels (365 pp), 13s. post free, from Housmans, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.  
**PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF INTERNATIONAL PACIFISM,** 8-PAGED BOOK-LET, 4d. POST PAID. BM/JONIB, London, W.C.1.

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**PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN** up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

### SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

**MABEL EYLES** Duplicating Service, 395 Hornsey Road, N.19. (ARC. 1765).

### HOLIDAYS

**KESWICK,** Highfield Vegetarian Guest House, The Heads. Now booking for Christmas and the New Year. Tel. 508.

**NB** is your newsagent displaying Peace News?

Ask him to order two extra copies weekly to be placed on show and purchased by you if left over.



# Eileen Fletcher replies

Officer is extremely concerned at the number of children being sent in, quite a large number being under seven and feels strongly that they should not have to receive these children.

"I suggest that all unaccompanied children under eight should be sent to a Place of Safety and not to the camps.

## AMBIGUOUS

"In certain cases where the father has a good record and job they might be left here and the fathers contribute to their maintenance."

It is quite obvious that this refers to the Place of Safety and it is in fact in a separate paragraph.

There was another instance (in the Achieng case) when the Colonial Secretary made an ambiguous reply.

Hansard for May 14, 1956, reports him being asked "what was the result of the Secretary of State's enquiry into circumstances under which the Rehabilitation Officer of a Detention Camp in Kenya asked a friend of a detainee to urge him to confess to Mau Mau associations in the interests of his impoverished family and what action has been taken."

Mr. Lennox Boyd replied "The enquiry has shown that a letter to a friend of a detainee suggesting that the detainee be urged to confess to associations with Mau Mau was prepared by the Rehabilitation Officer entirely on his own initiative.

"Owing to a clerical error the letter, which was under submission to a senior officer was not so submitted but dispatched without authority to the addressee.

## CHILDREN

"The Rehabilitation Officer whose proposal was contrary to the policy of the Kenya Government has been transferred to duties elsewhere and instructions have been issued to Prisons and Detention Camps Staff that they are not to correspond with relatives or friends of detainees."

The phrase "transferred to duties elsewhere" implies that it was because of his action, and a number of people understood it in this way.

In fact the officer concerned had been told some time before the letter was heard of that he was to be moved for quite a different reason!

The Memorandum then goes on to say that I urged children should be kept in the camps with their mothers till the age of eight or nine. This is quite irrelevant.

I did urge this and I consider I was right to do so. This, however, was for children to be kept with their mothers whereas what I com-

plained of about Langata was that these young children were unaccompanied.

They quote the woman rehabilitation officer at Langata as saying that I frequently interfered with what she wanted to do.

They omit the facts that she was untrained and unused to this kind of work and that one of the things I interfered over was that she placed children (whose mothers did not want them to remain in the camp) in homes without keeping any record of where she had placed them or what steps she had taken to see if the homes were suitable.

I also urged her, in the presence of the Assistant Commissioner (Women and Girls) to concentrate on her work at Langata and not spend so much time dealing with requests for help which were not related to the camp, and in doing certain work for the District Commissioner which was outside the work of our Department, and for which there was no time.

## PREJUDICE

She was a tireless worker and made excellent contact with the women but her inexperience at that time was shown in her reply "I couldn't give up any of the work, the whole of Nairobi depends on me!"

Her work with the women and her co-operation with the camp officers was excellent and I wrote several reports to the Commissioner to this effect.

Mr. Lennox Boyd also says my articles were based on personal prejudice.

If objecting to men being beaten with rifle butts, forced to strip naked and jig up and down bringing their knees up to their chins and with their hands on their heads chanting "Mau Mau's bad, Mau Mau's bad," among other incidents which I related, if these things show I am prejudiced then I must agree!

I am thankful that very many people in Great Britain share my "prejudice."

I am preparing a detailed reply to the whole of the Government answer.

In the meantime Peace News has given me space for this preliminary reply to its readers and to reaffirm that I stand by all I said in my previous articles.

# WELL DONE, AMERICA!

## FROM PAGE ONE

world war and may yet do so—had "limited the area of conflict."

By destroying the Egyptian Air Force and cutting off reinforcements he had, as he said, "stopped the fighting"—but he did not add that he had done so by ensuring an easy victory for the aggressor and embittering the whole Arab and Moslem world for generations to

# A LOST CAUSE

As I dropped towards the runway . . . I saw Egyptian troops turn their rifles towards me and start shooting . . . Within 30 minutes the casualty clearing station was filled with wounded men . . . Time and again stretcher bearers went out to bring in the injured. Some they put gently in the corner of the building, never again to wear the proud red beret and silver wings of the Parachute Regiment.

—Daily Telegraph Special Correspondent, November 7, 1956.  
Do not let us look upon our dead as gulls deceived into dying for false ideals. They resisted and defeated cataclysmic evils . . . we, their survivors and their children must, if necessary, do the same.  
—Daily Telegraph, November 12, 1956.

IN the confusion caused by the hourly shifting of Government pronouncements and propaganda the pacifist belief that war is not and cannot be the answer, stands unshaken and firm amidst the uproar, like a rock in a raging sea.

There were a large number of people who, aghast at Eden's action, temporarily became pacifists, in that they sincerely believed the war in Egypt to be wrong.

Now, however, the fact of the "cease-fire," and the United Nations so-called "police-force" decision, seems to have convinced many of these temporary objectors that the British action was, after all, right.

Recently the Evening Standard asserted that in order to convince the "wobblers" in the Cabinet, the Minister of Defence, Mr. Head, had been obliged to fly to Cyprus to secure from General Keightley an assurance that he was confident of victory.

It would seem, in fact, that Hitler's belief in might as being synonymous with right, is one also held by British rulers and many British citizens. Victory, not moral justification is, apparently, all that matters.

Truth, however, cannot be imprisoned all the time, and it is clear that there were some fears that it might escape from the bag to confound the Remembrance Day mourners on Sunday.

The Daily Telegraph leader quoted above, amounting almost to an apology, is one indication; the fact that plain clothes detectives, as well as the Home Guard, stood around the Unknown Warrior's tomb in case "cranks might disturb the silence" is another.

When the coalition Government of 1919

brought the remains of a British soldier from France to lie among the great in Westminster Abbey, there were very few then who could have visualised a day when anyone, even a "crank," would suggest that the sacrifice of life and limb in that first world war had been in vain.

Those who mourn their dead in two world wars have, so far, been able to keep their self-deception intact; even those who mourn the many who died in Korea can probably manage to assure themselves that by this means the Far East was saved from Communist domination.

When red poppies are brought in the street it is easier to think of nice quiet graves in "Flanders' fields" than of men still alive without their arms and legs, or with faces so mutilated that they cannot go about among their fellow men, a living monument to the ruthless violence and pain of war.



And those whose sons, or husbands, or lovers, will never again "wear the proud red beret," what of them? Will they believe that here was a great and worthy cause?

This is a question that cannot and must not be brushed aside with high-sounding phrases about preventing cataclysmic evils. The evil of war and the reliance of mankind upon it has brought us to the verge of the third world war, and there could scarcely be a greater cataclysmic evil.

The men in the red berets jumped to their death on Egyptian soil in a cause that will never be settled by going to war. The Egyptians who fought, as Churchill called upon the British to fight, in the streets and in their houses, have been killed and have died in a war that cannot settle the original dispute.

To argue that the survivors of two world wars, which were fought ostensibly to secure peace and freedom, must be prepared, and their children, too, to follow precisely the same road to yet another holocaust, is nothing but a counsel of complete despair.

This is indeed to see and not to perceive, to hear and not to understand that the cause of war is a lost cause.

The hope for mankind lies not in these bankrupt policies, but in the moral strength of those, who with eyes to see, and ears to hear, denounce and renounce the method of



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## EGYPT

FROM  
PAGE ONE

aggression wherever it occurred, then it would be a threat to peace and freedom.

The chances of a major conflict might thus be increased, and each nation would feel that in addition to its own enemies, it would also have to be prepared to defeat the UN Army as well.

If, then, an armed UN force cannot function as an armed military force, why have it armed at all, especially when this reduces the one power such an international body does have—its moral power?

It would have been a great gain for the world if the proposal made some months ago by Mr. Henry Osborne, MP, that an unarmed UN force should be organised to take its stand along the Arab-Israeli border could have been acted upon by those in a position to do so.

## Creative policy

Let the UN officials consider the ideas behind that proposal at this crucial moment. And during the time that the present UN forces are in Egypt, let them help to repair the damage caused by the ravages of war.

We are convinced that if Britain, France and Israel were sincere in their efforts for peace, they would have offered to help heal the wounded, to assist the families of the dead, and to finance the reconstruction.

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This has "set the stage" for a "real Middle

## To defeat the Generals

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Eastern settlement." What is only too clear is that any such settlement is now more difficult than ever—and it was never easy.

One single Power may stand today between the world and chaos. That Power is America, the country which condemned all these acts of aggression; and much depends upon the wisdom of its statesmen, the enlightenment of its people.

Not long ago the British Sunday newspaper, the Observer, publicly apologised for having been too nice about Eden. I wish to make a similar apology.

Writing on my way home from America, about the American scene as I saw it, I expressed a hope that Stevenson would win the Presidential election.

## Against aggression

I did not think he had a good chance, but I thought he had the better policy. Before my words had appeared in print I more than doubted my judgment.

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## GANDHI

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PAGE SIX

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If we have more than we need we should give it to those who have nothing, and never throw it carelessly away.

NEXT WEEK: Gandhi fasts.

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## BHOODAN

FROM  
PAGE TWO

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We see no sign of this. Perhaps the United Nations then might offer such assistance. It would enhance its influence greatly by doing so.

Let the men coming to Egypt now put down their guns and pick up shovels. Let them rebuild the radio stations, homes and airfields. Let them deal with the human needs arising from the war and turn this aspect of the tragedy into a creative demonstration of a practical way to "overcome evil with good"!

We are convinced that the UN force would thus give the maximum value. Dangerous incidents would be minimised.

We must press for the adoption of a creative UN policy before it is too late.

Especially in these critical days, sound international policies must be based upon moral principles.

## ANNA KETHLY

ANNA KETHLY 67-year-old Hungarian Socialist and member of the Government recently overthrown by the Russians is expected to arrive in London today (Friday).

She said that she wanted no US military aid, only moral support, when she was in New York last week to plead for her country at UN.

"I have seen so much bloodshed during the past 10 days. I want no more," she said.

Anna Kethly, who at one time was associated with the War Resisters' International, is regarded as the most respected and influential Hungarian politician at present at liberty.

She was sent to prison in 1950 along with hundreds of other Hungarian socialists and released under the first Nagy Government in 1954.

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A great deal of interest has already been aroused. Members of Student Organisations, Trade Unions, and two American writers now in England have been at Unity during the last few days, writing or contributing suggestions to Mr. Eric Paice, the Editor in Chief of "World on Edge." A number of well-known personalities in Radio and the Theatre are also helping on the script and the production.

Unity hope their audience will go away a little clearer and a little firmer in their intention to defeat the machinations of the Generals, whatever the colour of their tabs.

## NEXT WEEK

AN enlarged Christmas Book number of Peace News. Contributors: Vera Brittain, Fenner Brockway, MP, Doris Canter, Ethel Mannin, Prof. Lionel Penrose, Donald Soper, and others. Also the first list of "Prisoners for Peace."

Enquiries about David Hoggett may be made to the International Voluntary Service for Peace, 19 Pembridge Villas, London, W.11. Personal letters may be sent to him at Ward 4, Lodge Moor Hospital, South Sheffield, but no enquiries should be made to the nursing staff of the hospital.

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## Against aggression

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This alone made an attack improbable and an Arab defeat a certainty, if Arab States were so foolish as to commit aggression.

## Peace or war

All we know is that Israel *did* attack, and that if Egypt had anticipated this by a few hours and attacked Israel, Mrs. Roosevelt would not have seen this as Egyptian "self-defence"—which it would have been—on better evidence—by the same reasoning.

We also know that the Israelis have now made it clear that they embarked on a war of conquest—to seize and retain the Gaza strip and the Sinai peninsula and to force Egypt to drop its boycott—i.e., to trade with Israel.

Thus spoke the Western Powers once to the Chinese: they could either be customers or corpses.

Americans probably knew little of this. What did they know? That a vital principle was at stake; that Eisenhower stood firm on it, even against old allies; that Stevenson did not. That some of his supporters even applauded aggression.

The Presidential Election suddenly became a matter of peace or war—and America voted for peace.

Whether they will get it I don't know. Whether Ike will live up to their hopes and his own stature in the Suez crisis I don't know.

I know only that a great nation has shown, unmistakably, its belief in a better way than that of Eden and Bulganin, symbols of the Dark Ages.

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**GANDHI** **PAGE SIX**  
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As I post this letter, there is news of Vinoba's illness. This time it is an attack of malaria; and the strain of daily walking has considerably weakened the physical capacity of the man.

But the will is not lacking and body has to yield to spirit ultimately. The Press announces that he will resume his journey on November 12—nine days after falling ill—and that he is improving considerably in health.

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## I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1